

SPECIAL TRANSLATION

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TITLE: PROGRAM OF THE PORTUGUESE COMMUNIST PARTY



FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

NOTE

This translation was prepared in response to a specific requirement.



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NOTE

This translation of significant portions of the Portuguese Communist Party Program published in a 48-page Portuguese-language booklet, includes texts of the Preface, Resolution of the Central Committee on the Political Situation, Introduction, and the highlights of Parts I and II, as summarized in the program itself. Parts III and IV are not summarized. Brackets [] are used to enclose editorial explanatory notes.

Preface

1965: Under the most difficult and exacting conditions of clandestine operation, braving the great dangers which this implied, the Portuguese Communist Party held its Sixth Congress (only one, the First was held legally).

One of the fundamental points of the work of the congress: Discussion of the party program and consequent changes of the program approved at the Fifth Congress.

The PCP program that is now being published legally derived from the broad and in-depth discussion held collectively within the party. Its first edition in 1965 came out of the party's underground presses: thousands of militants, thousands of democrats regarded it as their own and made it the object of study and work. In 1970 the second edition was also published clandestinely. The thousands of copies that were issued and distributed under the fire of repression could not reach the hands of all the industrial, manual and intellectual workers who wanted to learn and apply the program of the party of the working class.

The close alliance between the Armed Forces Movement and the united popular movement made possible the overthrow of fascism and the creation of new conditions which open up for our people the real prospect of building a democratic regime of their own choosing. It made possible the legal publication of "Avante", the organ of the PCP. It makes possible the legal publication of the program of the Portuguese Communist Party, approved at the Sixth Congress of 1965. The program, drawn up scientifically both as to the authentically Marxist-Leninist ideology that inspires it as well as the analysis of the Portuguese and international situation, comprises programmatic points -- in the phase of the democratic and national revolution -- that already have been achieved, or are on the way to being achieved; many others are not, but they are encompassed in the perspective fashioned in the course of the anti-fascist resistance and the democratic process that began on 25 April.

For a scientific approach to the present situation, for a proper perspective, we deemed it proper to publish the Resolution of the Central Committee of the Portuguese Communist Party of 4 May 1974 "On the Political Situation," together with the program approved at the Sixth Congress.

This edition by the D.O.R.N. [Directory of the Northern Regional Organization] of the PCP responds to the needs and insistent requests of all those who want to understand, disseminate and apply the revolutionary program and practice of the vanguard of the Portuguese proletariat--the Portuguese Communist Party, arming themselves for the great tasks that lie before the communists and their allies at the present historic moment.

May 1974; the Directory of the Northern Regional Organization of the Portuguese Communist Party

Resolution of the Central Committee on the present situation

1. The Central Committee of the Portuguese Communist Party, holding its plenary session after the great popular demonstrations of the First of May, warmly salutes the working class, the popular masses, for the extraordinary success achieved and for the determination expressed by millions of Portuguese to consolidate and expand the freedoms attained, to put an end to the colonial war, to hold free elections for a Constituent Assembly, and to establish a democratic regime in Portugal chosen by the people themselves.

2. The Central Committee of the Portuguese Communist Party also warmly salutes the Armed Forces Movement for its firm intervention to put an end to the fascist dictatorship and for its later action in alliance with the popular forces.

The Central Committee salutes the urgent measures of the National Salvation Junta to liquidate the fascist dictatorship and establish freedom. It regards with favor amnesty for deserters and the insubordinate.

The PCP, aware of the decisive role of the Armed Forces Movement in the changes brought about in the political situation, believes that the continuing activity of the Movement, at least until elections for the Constituent Assembly, is one of the essential conditions to consolidate and expand the results achieved and to successfully confront counter-revolutionary conspiracies and attempts.

3. The Central Committee confirms the position taken by its executive organs with regard to the Provisional Government. The participation in the Provisional Government of all representative democratic parties and sectors (including the PCP) would be a guarantee for proceeding with holding free elections.

Discrimination against the PCP, the largest antifascist party, would contravene the democratization of Portuguese political life.

4. The PCP underlines the great combativeness, initiative, boldness and political maturity which the popular masses have been demonstrating in an irrepressible movement that has reached every corner of the country. All of our people immediately understood that from their ardent, fraternal, and active alliance with the Armed Forces would depend the depth and breadth of the democratic process that began on 25 April.

The unity of action and organization of the working class, of the popular masses and of the democratic forces, and the alliance of the popular forces with the Armed Forces continue to be the essential conditions that will make it possible to liquidate the remnants of fascism, block the path of counterrevolution, and insure the results achieved by "25 April" and the time that has elapsed since then, and finally to gain a democratic regime.

The PCP urges the multiplication of bonds of cooperation and mutual help between the popular masses and the military, everywhere and at all levels. The cooperation that is taking place in many forms between the democratic forces and the Armed Forces Movement, the fraternizing of the population with the officers, soldiers and sailors must be strengthened.

On the strengthening and irreversibility of this alliance depends the final victory of democracy in Portugal.

5. The Central Committee of the PCP calls attention to the real danger of conspiracy, provocation and counterrevolution action by the fascists, as well as to the attempts of the finance moguls to create serious disruptions in the economy, finance, and supplies.

The Central Committee underlines the need for the democratic forces and the popular masses, in close cooperation with the Armed Forces, to increase their vigilance.

6. Equally dangerous are rightist-opportunism, that is manifested in the tendency to forego the fundamental objectives of the democratic movement and the leftism that is expressed above all in impatience that does not take the balance of forces into account and in divisive and separatist attitudes and actions. The PCP, fully aware of its responsibility, disapproves of actions for which conditions have not been created and which do not correspond to the existing balance of forces. Except for very special cases, initiatives to occupy Town Councils [Juntas de Freguesia] and Municipal Chambers, for example, do not facilitate but, on the contrary, at this time, create serious obstacles for the democratization of the administrative structure and the democratization of Portuguese life in general. The PCP will firmly combat opportunism and adventurism, which objectively serve the counterrevolution.

7. The party of the working class, the PCP, because of its organized strength and its great influence among the masses, clearly evidenced in the great May Day event, has played and will continue to play an important role in events.

Saluting all organizations and militants for the great success scored on the First of May, the Central Committee is certain that, in the forefront of the workers and the popular masses, the communists will continue to struggle confidently and unselfishly for the establishment of freedoms, for the end of the war, for free elections to the Constituent Assembly, for a democratic regime chosen by the people themselves.

4 May 1974; The Central Committee of the Portuguese Communist Party

Program of the Portuguese Communist Party

Introduction

The supreme objective of the Portuguese Communist Party is the victory of the proletarian revolution and the building of socialism and communism in Portugal. This objective has inspired all the activity of the party since its founding in 1921.

Forced underground since the military coup of 1926, which led to the establishment of the fascist dictatorship, subject to constant and fierce persecution with which the dominant classes have sought to liquidate it, the Portuguese Communist Party, the party of the proletariat and its vanguard, not only was not liquidated but developed and became stronger, broadened its activity, and became the recognized and unchallenged leader of the working class and the working masses, and gained enormous prestige among all levels of the population. Today the Portuguese Communist Party is the only party of the working class and a decisive force in the national movement against the fascist dictatorship.

Leading the working class and the working masses over the years in the daily defense of their vital interests and in the struggle for immediate partial demands, heading the popular struggle against fascist oppression and for peace day in and day out, the Portuguese Communist Party proclaims that the end of the exploitation of man by man, of poverty, oppression, social inequality can come about only when capitalism is abolished by the victorious proletarian revolution, and it offers the working class and all workers the glorious prospect of socialism and communism.

Working unceasingly for the unity of democratic and patriotic forces aimed at the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship, the Portuguese Communist Party beckons the working class and the working masses to the democratic and national revolution as a first and necessary phase to achieve the socialist revolution.

The development of the international situation is favorable to the struggle of the Portuguese working class and people. Beginning with the Great October Socialist Revolution that shook the edifice of world capitalism, under the influence of the successes of the Soviet Union and with its help, the historic victories of the working class have radically changed the world balance of power. The world socialist system, the principal creation and fortress of the international proletariat, has become the decisive factor in world politics and in the transformation of human society, has made possible the headlong development of the national liberation movement that is toppling the colonial system, has accelerated the progress of the workers movement in the capitalist countries, and has many times forced the retreat of the local aggressions and world war plans of

the imperialists. The building of the technical-material foundations of communism in the USSR and the building of socialism in the other countries of the socialist camp continually increase the economic strength and defensive potential of the socialist camp, increasingly tip the world balance of power in favor of socialism, and propel the whole world revolutionary process.

Marxism-Leninism scientifically demonstrates the inevitability of the proletarian revolution and the triumph of socialism and communism. The fundamental truth of our era is the passing from capitalism to socialism. With the victories of the socialist camp, the rise of the workers movement and of the national liberation movement, the general crisis of capitalism, and the sharpening of its internal contradictions, conditions have ripened for the victory of socialism and communism on a world scale.

However, the possibility of revolution in each country does not result automatically from the influence of external factors, but rather from historic, social and political conditions existing in that country, in conjunction with the international situation. According to those conditions, the proletarian revolution has different phases and follows different paths in each country.

In the conditions existing in Portugal, under the fascist dictatorship, the present phase of the revolution is a democratic and national revolution.

Democratic--because it will end fascist tyranny, establish political freedom, put an end to the control of the finance oligarchy, defend popular interests, carry out a series of profound reforms which will benefit the overwhelming majority of the Portuguese population.

National--because by ending imperialist control over Portugal and Portuguese colonialist control over other peoples, it will insure the sovereignty, territorial integrity, and real independence of the country.

The democratic and national revolution does not put an end to the class struggle nor exhaust the revolutionary process. For the Portuguese Communist Party, vanguard of the proletariat and a Marxist-Leninist party, the struggle for the democratic and national revolution is an integral part of the struggle for socialism.

I. The democratic and national revolution and its objectives

1. Destroy the fascist state and install a democratic regime.
2. Liquidate the power of the monopolies and promote general economic development
3. Carry out the agrarian reform, turning over the land to those who work it
4. Raise the standard of living of the working classes and the people in general
5. Democratize education and culture
6. Liberate Portugal from imperialism
7. Recognize and assure the right of the peoples of the Portuguese colonies to immediate independence.
8. Follow a policy of peace and friendship with all peoples

1. Destroy the fascist state and install a democratic regime

(1) Dissolution of all organs and instruments of fascist power: the National Assembly, Corporative Chamber, PIDE, Portuguese Legion, GNR and other repressive forces, special tribunals, corporative organization, National Union, Portuguese Youth, etc. Removal of fascists and other counter-revolutionaries from all public functions, including the military.

(2) Creation of a state democratic organization with a single legislative chamber elected by direct, universal, equal and secret vote of all citizens over 18 years of age. Appointment of the government by the Chamber, to which the former will be responsible.

(3) Establishment and guarantee of freedom of unions, of speech, of the press, of association, of assembly, to strike, and to demonstrate. Transfer of all assets of the National Syndicates [employers unions], Casas do Povo and Casas de Pescadores [guilds] to the new class organizations created by the workers. Inviolability of correspondence and of the home.

(4) Freedom of conscience and of dissemination of beliefs and ideas to believers and unbelievers. Guarantee of the practice of religion. Separation of Church and state.

(5) Establishment of equal rights for all citizens regardless of sex, level of education or economic condition.

(6) Organization of the armed forces and popular security forces for the defense of the revolution and national independence, excluding its utilization against the rights and independence of other peoples. Promotion of soldiers, sergeants and officers according to merit.

(7) Democratization of justice. Reduction of costs. Legal assistance. Reorganization of the judicial system with the intervention of people's judges and aides.

(8) Free elections for all local administrative organs and their reorganization along democratic lines.

2. Liquidate the power of the monopolies and promote general economic development

(1) Nationalization of banks, insurance, transportation, railroad, airlines and navigation companies, telephones and telegraphs, mines, production and transmission of electricity, and other industrial sectors belonging to monopoly groups.

(2) Respect for the interests of small and middle-sized business in the nationalized sectors, of the small stockholders in the large companies, and of the small depositors in banks.

(3) Maintain, along with the activity of the nationalized sector, the initiative of private enterprises which participate in the general development of the country, respecting the laws and the interests of the democratic state.

(4) Industrialization of the country in accordance with the natural resources and the needs of a harmonious development of the various branches of the national economy and the various regions.

(5) Reorganization of the fisheries, expropriating the monopolist companies, and stimulating the creation of fishing cooperatives through credit and other facilities.

(6) Control, regulation and participation of the state in foreign trade. Respect for national interests by private companies that engage in it.

(7) Reorganization of wholesale trade and creation of a state trade sector, banning speculation and preventing the rise of prices, resulting from the greed of the big distributors and middlemen.

(8) Tax reform, establishing a system of sharply progressive tax on property or income, bequests, and gifts, eliminating the professional tax on salaries and low wages, and giving relief to the working classes, trademen, small manufacturers, small businessmen, and the liberal professions from the intolerable tax burden they bear.

3. Carry out the agrarian reform, turning over the land to those who work it

(1) Expropriation of the large landholdings and the large capitalist farming operations, whose dimensions for purposes of expropriation will be determined by law, having in mind the nature of the terrain, the types of crops, the value of the product and the relative importance of the various levels of farmers in each region. In all other cases, respect for land private property.

(2) Transfer of expropriated lands to farm workers and poor peasants (landowners, tenant farmers, and sharecroppers). In some cases, division and distribution of the lands to be worked individually or in cooperatives, and in other cases direct operation by the state, keeping in mind the will of the farm masses.

(3) Raising the salaries and guaranteeing work for the farm workers, extending to them the social gains of the industrial proletariat. Eight-hour day.

(4) Abolition of semi-feudal types of operations, such as tenant farming [foros] and sharecropping, of all kinds, and transfer of the lands that are now being operated under this system to those who work them, with full and clear title. Reform of the leasing system. Annulment of usurious debts.

(5) Restore the use of the fallow land and other land usurped by the fascist state and large farm operators to the respective people.

(6) Assistance by the state to small farmers, stimulating the formation and development of farm cooperatives, granting credits at modest interest rates, supplying machinery on good terms, facilitating the acquisition and transportation

of fertilizers, insecticides and fungicides, providing technical assistance and authorizing the cooperatives to install subsidiary industries to process their own farm products.

(7) Improvement of general living conditions in the villages through electrification, building of roads, schools, water supplies, installation of health care centers, etc.

(8) Development of the chemical fertilizer and farm machinery industry, carrying out of irrigation projects, rural electrification, livestock development, improvement of roads and transport facilities, construction of silos, cellars, and presses, and the creation of tractor and farm machinery stations for use on good terms by the cooperatives and individual farmers.

(9) Liquidation of speculation, of commercial parasites, and of the monopoly of the purchase, distribution and sale of farm products and livestock by the large farm operators installed today in the corporative organization. Liquidation of the Guilds [gremios], federations and boards [juntas]. Reorganization of the trade system for farm and livestock products on the basis of collaboration between the state and with the farm cooperatives, so as to guarantee profitable prices to the producers without imposing on the consumers.

(10) Broadening the tax exemptions to poor farmers, establishment of a progressive tax on farm land on the basis of the principal "the more you have, the more you pay."

4. Raise the standard of living of the working classes and the people in general

(1) The right to work. General increase of salaries, wages and income. Establishment of a minimum living wage and the application of the principle "equal pay for equal work", regardless of sex and age. System of readjustment of salaries to the cost of living. Payment for the seventh day and holidays. Elimination of deductions, fines and penalties as a means of exploitation.

(2) Effective compliance with the 8-hour workday and establishment of a 7-hour day, or less, for certain types of heavy work, for miners and for the workers in toxic and unhealthful industries.

(3) Creation of safe working conditions, particularly in the fisheries, mines, quarries, chemical industry, civil construction, etc.

(4) Promotion of workers, regardless of sex and age, to the level consistent with their professional ability. Prohibition of heavy work for women and apprentices. Prohibition of child labor.

(5) Medical and hospital care for the working classes. Social security in case of illness, accident, disability or old age. Family allowance covering all workers. Annual paid vacations. Aid to women during pregnancy and at childbirth, with paid leave before and after delivery. Assistance to mothers and children through maternity centers, creches and kindergartens, and vacation camps for children. Development of physical culture and sports, freeing them from commercialism and disseminating their practice among the broad masses of the population.

(6) Collective labor contracts with the participation of representatives of the workers in drafting and approving them. Progressive reduction of the regional differences in salaries and other working conditions.

(7) Urban reform, with the expropriation and nationalization of urban properties belonging to monopoly capital. New housing construction policy, eliminating land and construction speculation; building at low-cost so as to rent at low-cost. Establishment of a system of rents proportionate to family wages and income. Loans for the building and repair of private homes for city and country workers.

5. Democratization of education and culture

(1) Abolition of illiteracy.

(2) General reform of education with the revision of the organization of programs and methods, construction of school buildings, providing technical facilities and qualification of teachers, in keeping with the requirements of science, pedagogy and the training of cadres. Lay public education.

(3) Free, compulsory primary education and effective access to secondary schools and universities by the children of workers. Reduction of fees. Large-scale granting of exemptions and scholarships. Establishment of a network of housing, canteens and other services for students.

(4) Free industrial, agricultural and polytechnical training for young workers, with the establishment of a system of scholarships and work-release time, without any deduction from wages.

(5) The right of students to form associations and the strengthening of the role of student associations in all activities in and about school.

(6) Development of national culture and art. State support of literature, plastic arts, music, theater, cinema and popular art as the root of all national art. Protection and conservation of the national historic and artistic patrimony. Freedom of action for and assistance to popular cultural associations and groups.

(7) Reorganization of the state information departments, placing radio and television at the service of education and culture, in accordance with the ideals of the democratic and national revolution.

(8) Improvement of teachers' salaries and reform of the recruiting and promotion system. Provide scientists, writers and artists with the facilities they require to devote themselves to their creative work.

(9) Foreign scientific, cultural and technical exchange, specifically with the countries of the socialist camp.

6. Liberate Portugal from imperialism.

(1) Expropriation and nationalization of the foreign large companies and monopoly operations, acknowledging in some cases the granting of appropriate indemnification.

(2) Utilization of national resources recovered and the nationalized assets for the benefit of the people and the independent development of the national economy.

(3) Conduct foreign trade on the basis of independence, equality and mutual respect of interests and protection of national activities against the ruinous competition of foreign monopolies. Normalization and intensification of trade with the socialist countries.

(4) Denounce the public foreign debt contracted by the fascist government to subsidize its policy of protection for the monopolies, of repression, and war.

(5) Annulment of all treaties and international agreements that are prejudicial to the sovereignty and independence of Portugal.

7. Recognize and assure the right of the peoples of the Portuguese colonies to immediate independence

(1) Negotiations and agreements with the representatives of the national liberation movements of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea and Cape Verde for the immediate transfer of power to governments of the respective independent states.

(2) Negotiations and agreements with the government of the People's Republic of China for the incorporation of Macau into the PRC.

(3) Exercise of the right of self-determination by the peoples of Timor and Sao Tome e Principe.

(4) Establishment of relations of friendship and economic, technical and cultural cooperation between the Portuguese people and the peoples of the former Portuguese colonies on the basis of free decision, complete equality, nonintervention in internal affairs, and respect for mutual interests.

8. Follow a policy of peace and friendship with all peoples

(1) Foreign policy based on the defense of peaceful coexistence between states with different social and political regimes. Support of practical measures for the prohibition and destruction of nuclear arms and for disarmament.

(2) Diplomatic, economic and cultural relations with all peoples, based on the principle of equality, respect for sovereignty and mutual interests, and non interference in the internal affairs of other states.

(3) Denounce all treaties and commitments (NATO, "Iberian Pact" and others), aimed against the interests of the Portuguese people and nation, against the interests of other peoples and nations, against the interests of world peace. Liquidation of foreign military bases on Portuguese territory.

(4) Establishment and strengthening of relations and cooperation with the countries of the socialist camp.

(5) Fight against all forms of colonialism and neo-colonialism. Solidarity with national liberation movements.

II. The road to the overthrow of fascism and the establishment of a provisional government

1. Dissolution of the organs of fascist power, of the fascist repressive forces, of the fascist courts, of the corporative organization, and the democratization of the whole state apparatus.
2. Liberation of all political prisoners, return of the civil and military political exiles, reintegration in the public service of citizens dismissed for political reasons.
3. Freedom to form political parties and engage in political party activity, freedom of the press, of association, of assembly, to demonstrate, to strike, and freedom of unions.

Immediate transfer of National Syndicates [employers associations], Casas do Povo and Casas de Pescadores [guilds] and their assets to the control and administration of the workers, and the assets of the Portuguese Youth to the democratic youth organizations.

4. Confiscation of any information and propaganda [can also mean "news" and "advertising" or "publicity"] facilities of companies linked with monopoly capital. Transfer of the technical facilities of the fascist press to democratic parties and groups.
5. Publication of an election law that guarantees the people's supervision of the elections for the Constituent Assembly and grants direct voting rights to all citizens over 18 years of age, without regard to sex, level of education and economic condition.
6. General democratization of economic life, seizing the management of economic activities from the monopolies and the large landowners and satisfying the basic immediate demands of the working class, of the peasantry and the other laboring strata.
- 7/ Immediate and complete cessation of the colonial war and the colonialist policy, return of the expeditionary troops, liberation of the arrested patriots, granting of democratic freedoms to the Portuguese colonies. Immediate opening of negotiations for their independence.
8. A change in direction in our foreign policy, establishing normal diplomatic relations with all countries, insuring the sovereignty and independence of the nation and the principle of equality in international relations.
9. Trials of those responsible for fascist crimes. An investigation of the fortunes accumulated during the fascist regime, banning of fascist activities, close vigilance of the enemies of the revolution and decisive action against any counterrevolutionary attempts.

III. The struggle for the democratic and national revolution, integral part of the struggle for socialism.

[In struggling for the democratic and national revolution, the Portuguese Communist Party is struggling for the socialist revolution; achievement of the former will create conditions for the latter, Etc.]

IV. The party

[The Portuguese Communist Party represents and will continue to represent a decisive role in the struggle against the fascist dictatorship, in the democratic and national revolution, the socialist revolution, and in the building of socialism and communism. Etc.]